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ABSTRACT

The Ad Hoc Expert Group on the Role of Housing in Promoting Social Integration was convened by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in conformity with an Economic and Social Council resolution, to examine the role of housing in promoting social integration, and to prepare recommendations on this subject for consideration by Member States. In its resolution the Council sought to emphasize the need to include social aspects of housing in the development plans of countries. The Group was requested to provide advice regarding the underlying judgment that certain forms of residential segregation have damaging social and economic consequences and are inimical to the well-being of individual citizens and classes of populations; to national development; and to international harmony. The phenomenon of segregation was examined in terms of causes, effects and strategies. It was observed that segregation occurs at every level, from the international economic division of rich and poor nations to the personal isolation of an individual. The experts felt that planning had suffered from an overemphasis of technical and economic considerations at the expense of social values. They arrived at specific recommendations for the encouragement of social integration through housing policy. (Author/JM)

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

REPORT OF THE AD HOC EXPERT GROUP ON THE ROLE OF HOUSING IN PROMOTING SOCIAL INTEGRATION

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Department of Economic and Social Affairs

REPORT OF THE AD HOC EXPERT GROUP ON THE ROLE OF HOUSING IN PROMOTING SOCIAL INTEGRATION

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

8-13 May 1972

UNITED NATIONS

New York, 1974

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Letter dated 12 May 1972 from the Ad Hoc Group of Experts on the Role of Housing in Promoting Social Integration, addressed to the Secretary-General

The Ad Hoc Group of Experts on the Role of Housing in Promoting Social Integration has the honour to submit to the Secretary-General the report of its views, including its conclusions and recommendations, as a result of its meetings held from 8 to 13 May at Stockholm, in response to Economic and Social Council resolution 1160 (XLI), to study and make recommendations on matters related to the social aspects of housing.

The phenomenon of segregation was examined in terms of causes, effects and strategies. It was observed that segregation occurs at every level, from the international economic division of rich and poor nations to the personal isolation of an individual.

The experts felt that planning had suffered from an over-emphasis of technical and economic considerations at the expense of social values. They arrived at specific recommendations for the encouragement of social integration through housing policy. Their sincere hope is that these recommendations will, in some way, increase equality of access to resources and provide opportunities for full participation in the life of the community at the neighbourhood, national and global levels.

Luan P. Cuffe
Paul Davidoff
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Gino Germani
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INTRODUCTION

The Ad Hoc Expert Group on the Role of Housing in Promoting Social Integration was convened by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in conformity with Economic and Social Council resolution 1168 (XLI), to examine the role of housing in promoting social integration, and to prepare recommendations on this subject for consideration by Member States.

In its resolution the Council sought to emphasize the need to include social aspects of housing in the development plans of countries.

The Group was requested to provide advice regarding the underlying judgement that certain forms of residential segregation have damaging social and economic consequences and are inimical to the well-being of individual citizens and classes of populations; to national development; and to international harmony.

Host facilities for the meeting of the Group were provided by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare of the Government of Sweden through the Department of Building Functions Analysis of the Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm. Directors of the Group were Eric Carlson of the Centre for Housing, Building and Planning, United Nations Secretariat, and Sven Thiberg of the Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm; the Technical Secretary was Naigzy Gebremedhin of the Centre for Housing, Building and Planning. The Group met at Stockholm from 8 to 13 May 1972.

In opening the meeting of the Ad Hoc Expert Group on the Role of Housing in Promoting Social Integration, the representative of the Secretary-General stated that the purposes of the meeting were to stress the importance of housing as a means of social integration; to bring together researchers in the field of social integration from different countries; to describe the residential segregation patterns of selected representative countries; to indicate directions for further research; and to encourage decision-makers at national and local levels to use available knowledge in order to strengthen and/or modify the goals of housing policy, particularly with reference to social integration.

He noted that the projected growth of the world's population to some 7,000 million by the end of the century would require an estimated 1.2 to 1.4 thousand million new dwelling units. This would represent tremendous new allocations of national and international resources for housing and human settlements, which would promote genuine and widespread social and economic development and integration. Failure to solve this problem would exacerbate social and economic tension and conflict within and between countries.

The representative noted that the problems and choices involved were assuming new dimensions and a new urgency, especially in terms of their environmental aspects.

The impact of urban settlements on the human environment was taking place within the broader context of international instability and the difficulty, in highly industrialized and less developed countries alike, of transforming human

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settlements into true communities. The precarious condition of human life and the human community had resulted in a sharpened sense of solidarity. Society, however, had not yet found a way to infuse the processes of decision and policy-making with that sense of solidarity. Man was thus threatened with self-destruction not only through sudden nuclear annihilation, but also through a slower but ultimately total deterioration of the web of life. Short of these disasters there lay the threat of long-term adaptation to a steadily declining quality of life.

The social environment had to be considered within that over-all context, as it was the social environment that most rapidly reflected, exemplified, and was sensitive to, the steadily declining quality of life. The discussions and recommendations of the Group would therefore have special relevance to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, to be held in Stockholm the following month: the first item on the agenda of that Conference was devoted to the theme, "The planning and management of human settlements for environmental quality".

The United Nations representative emphasized that ecologically sound human settlements should be seen as a major requirement for a human ecosystem that would maximize the individual's opportunity for self-fulfilment and form a vital part of his social awareness and growth. The improvement of human settlements, in both urban and rural areas was a fundamental prerequisite for creating conditions conducive to human development, and was essential to the total national development process. To channel, plan and direct the rapid growth of population in order to avoid the waste of finite resources and an exhaustion of the land, air and water in large human settlements would call for a dynamic interplay between the concepts of professional urban and regional planning, ecological factors and individual free choice. It would also require a much greater emphasis on investment decisions by public and private bodies in order to achieve a rational distribution of jobs and employment opportunities in relation to available resources. A final challenge would be to use the potential of the tides of new migrants to urban areas strengthening and developing their initiatives and incorporating them into the total process of social, physical and capital investment for enhanced welfare and environmental harmony.

The Group was also addressed by a representative of the Department of Building Functions Analysis of the Swedish Royal Institute of Technology. This representative dealt with the basic conflict between the human right to choose one's neighbours, one's friends and the location of one's housing, and the inherent human duty of sharing the benefits as well as the disadvantages of society in an equal manner. Noting that the freedom of choice and the need for equality must be balanced, and appeared to have been weighted in varying degrees in the different countries discussed in the case studies, the speaker stressed that it was the basic right of a human being to be a part of a social structure that guaranteed him social security and an unrestricted membership in the constructive and developing community. For most individuals, housing was the dominant physical framework for fostering integration. For individuals and groups disadvantaged by economic, educational, physical or mental factors, good housing was especially important in this regard. Housing policy thus must be co-ordinated with educational, social, and health policies; no compromise should be accepted in national housing policy or in the attitude of planners or decision-makers. The speaker said that the Group should expose the basic causes of segregation and the destructive ways in which it worked in society, and that they should provide advice on how the trend towards segregation could be reversed.

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The Minister of Family Affairs of the Government of Sweden then addressed the Group. The Minister said that while Swedish society was widely considered to be homogeneous, significant segregation still existed, affecting those least able to fend for themselves.

The Minister pointed out that the function of the family in the Swedish social system, as a unit of production was decreasing. Urbanization, structural changes in industry and commerce and the rise of large-scale industrial groups had all created a demand for mobility. The function of family as the unit for providing social comfort was also diminishing. Thus the public sector was called upon to substitute for the role that was at one time played by the family unit, greatly increasing the demand on the public sector's social function. The Minister noted that most planning was done by persons with a very inadequate understanding of the uses to which women and children put the housing environment.

Providing housing with a social orientation entirely through the open market mechanism had been difficult; therefore, there was an increasing need to foster the social control of the allocation of housing, especially with a view to promoting social integration. The Minister recognized that the following ought to be examples of environmental requirements for that purpose:

(a) Nurseries for all children whose parents could look after them at home as an environmental requirement warranted by the child's needs;

(b) Playing and recreation areas for young and old;

(c) Community services for cleaning and laundry and to cater for the old, the sick and the handicapped;

(d) Commercial services for those who wished to exchange housework for work outside the home and to buy instead the services the work at home would otherwise have provided;

(e) Opportunities for those with normal daytime working hours to buy daily necessities;

(f) Facilities for stimulating social activities both during the day for all children, youngsters, housewives, shift-workers and pensioners who stayed at home, and also in the evening for all day workers;

(g) Safe, reliable and comfortable means of transport.

The Minister pointed out certain problems common to western countries with market economies, among which were:

(a) the unimaginative standardization of series of houses that was the result of large-scale industrialized production, where the rule is anonymity and that generated a feeling of anonymity and was the cause of other social drawbacks;

(b) the fact that the land around urban districts was sought after as a commercial commodity, thus encouraging dense developments to generate more profits for builders;

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(c) a credit policy which fosters high interest rates;

(d) the absence of control by society of land use;

(e) the impact of advertising that encouraged consumption beyond the limits of available resources;

(f) rigid categorization of dwellings according to occupant;

(g) separation of residential areas and working places;

(h) poor transportation systems.

The Minister suggested that social integration in the field of housing could be furthered if residential areas were planned for occupancy by varied income groups and for multipurpose use, including work, sleep, and leisure. One method for achieving the goals enumerated was to give society better control of the use of land. In this respect the Minister noted recent Swedish measures allowing communities to acquire land without having to pay inflated prices.

The Minister suggested that the ultimate purpose of mingling different socio-economic groups, besides not condemning the under privileged to deficient housing, was to further communication between different groups. Once a physical setting was created that would permit such communication, its actual development would depend on other factors, such as length of stay in a district; children or other common interests; geographical movements; and, to a certain extent, social class. Social integration could be greatly furthered through education, especially through pre-school education.

The Minister pointed out that although her remarks were confined to the Swedish experience, new States might learn from the mistakes and benefit from the success of Sweden's efforts. Noting that no one disputed the goal of a society at once varied and integrated, the Minister reminded the Group that most types of society might prove adequate for the stronger groups and elements. Only a strong society, however, could be good also for the weak, for children, for the aged or for the handicapped. Only a strong society could develop into a truly integrated one.

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I. PRESENTATION OF CASE STUDIES: REPORTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A. International concern for using housing as an element of social integration

A member of the United Nations Secretariat presented a paper in which it pointed out that the present meeting was the last in a series which had started in 1970. The first expert group meeting had been held at United Nations Headquarters to discuss social programming of housing in urban areas and had resulted in the publication of a number of care studies and comments thereon. 1/

The second expert group meeting was held at Dublin in October 1971, for the purpose of formulating some promising social indicators for housing and urban development. Copies of the report of that meeting were available as background material. 2/

With regard to the role of housing in promoting social integration, the subject of the present meeting, it was felt that housing should be regarded as one of the basic human rights, not to be denied any member of a community on the basis of race, sex or religion. An inadequate housing environment was not only one where the physical characteristics of the house and its related facilities were poor, but also one which was degrading to its inhabitants, depriving them of the opportunity to develop and utilize their full potential, denying them easy access to the basic necessities and failing to fulfil their cultural and spiritual needs for recreation, beauty and contact with nature and with their fellow men.

Housing authorities should, it was stated, respond to man's needs by offering:

(a) An environment conducive to the physical and moral welfare of the individual;

(b) A framework for orderly social progress;

(c) A high standard of living through adequate and safe housing and related community facilities, through provision for the basic human needs in rational spatial patterns with adequate allocation for a variety of communal activities;

(d) The foundations of a satisfactory community life;

(e) The means of equalizing access to the other services, opportunities and conveniences that existed in the larger community;

1/ Social Aspects and Management of Housing Projects: Selected Case Studies (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.70.IV.6).

2/ Social Indicators for Housing and Urban Development (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.IV.13).

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(f) An environment where privacy could be balanced with the meaningful social interaction;

(g) An environment in which members of the community could engage in a wide variety of activities in order to develop their personal capabilities in the intellectual, aesthetic and social spheres;

(h) An improvement of the living conditions and working opportunities in rural settlements to reduce the need for migration to urban areas;

(i) A housing environment whose quality and character would minimize the environmental causes of family disintegration, crime, delinquency, drug dependence and anti-social behaviour;

(j) Opportunities for the development of a process whereby individuals would have access to governmental authorities concerning the economic, social and cultural improvement of their community;

(k) Instruction regarding the importance of a healthful housing environment.

It was clear that certain forms of residential segregation had damaging social and economic consequences, and were inimical to the well-being of individual citizens and classes of population, to national development, and even to international harmony. In essence, those forced to live in segregated housing were denied their human and environmental rights, in possible violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the socio-cultural aetiology of segregation in human settlements, three key features could be identified and subjected to closer scrutiny: they were poverty, discrimination and free choice. It suggested that poverty, or lack of economic means, was one of the most significant factors giving rise to segregated residential patterns. The current crisis in housing and the deterioration of the human environment were visible symptoms of economic systems that fostered segregation.

There was evidence to show that slum dwellers and those living in uncontrolled settlements formed a percentage varying anywhere from 7 to 80 per cent, and most commonly around 40 per cent of city populations. Those figures could roughly be compared with the figures for residential segregation according to class and ethnic origin, presented in other case studies. The figures revealed the size of the population that had yet to be integrated into the larger community.

Although the figures on slums and uncontrolled settlements were truly disturbing, the housing sector should not only be considered as an area of human misfortune. It was also laden with opportunity for human advancement. But to realize this potential, there had to be a broad new vision, a reversal of many previous positions and a fully positive evaluation that could appreciate the contribution of the inhabitants of slums and squatter settlements.

The immense human and social potential in those areas provided a unique basis for the rejuvenation and restructuring of certain outmoded social institutions and concepts. What was most needed currently was to communicate the awareness of that potential in order to spark a chain reaction of improvement throughout the communities of the world. It was time to end unproductive negativism in attitudes and approaches to the problem of slums and uncontrolled settlements. A new approach, utilizing the wealth of available resources, could have an unprecendented impact upon the world housing problem.

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It was also pointed out that discrimination was still a major factor creating segregation in residential areas. Discrimination was defined as differential treatment, by members of a dominant social category, which functioned to deny or to restrict the choices of a subordinate social category. Discrimination of some form was always found when one category of human beings was in a subordinate position to another social category because of a difference in social or economic power. Such differential treatment involved three elements: norms, techniques and sanctions.

Discriminatory norms were proscriptive and prescriptive expectations of behaviour that limited the housing alternatives available to a subordinate group. Examples of such norms were restriction to one income group, one age group, one social class or one tribal, ethnic or religious group.

It was noted that in the developing countries, under the guise of introducing physical development controls, norms were instituted that in effect thwarted the ability of people to provide shelter for themselves. Often the standards incorporated in the development control legislation were too high to be applied and followed by those with limited means. The long-term effect of such well-intentioned ordinances, designed to enhance the aesthetics of the urban environment, had been to promote segregation. People built what they could, and in the way they knew best, in areas out of reach of the strictures imposed by the ordinances. Thus, the underlying causes of segregated housing might be different in the developed and the developing countries, but the resulting conditions remained the same. Two camps existed. In one, the well-to-do resided, sustained by public policy which might be deliberately exclusive. In the other camp lived slum dwellers. The slums were growing, and current human action and attitudes allowed them to grow.

It should not of course be forgotten that there could be positive benefits to individuals or groups from separating themselves from others for residential purposes. For example, the comfort, the familiarity and the sense of security offered by certain kinds of ethnic neighbourhoods might be most welcome, especially to new arrivals in urban areas.

In regard to techniques and strategy for promoting local integration through housing, it was stated that there was a need to relate this to some over-all scheme for advancing human progress. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade was one such scheme. In adopting the Strategy, the General Assembly stated that if undue privileges, extremes of wealth and social injustices persisted, then development failed in its essential purpose. In regard to housing, the Strategy sought to expand and improve housing facilities, especially for low-income groups, with a view to remedying the ills of unplanned urban growth and the lagging development of rural areas. It was understood that the deliberate mention of the housing of low-income families and lagging rural development in the recommendations for the Development Decade reflected international concern for the elimination of inequalities and for promoting social integration.

It was observed that public policy must play an active role, as much in the redistribution of resources as on the evaluation of the environment. Amongst the actions required for that purpose the following were mentioned:

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(a) Increasing the cognitive clarity of public policy;

(b) Increasing the organizational resources of institutions implementing the policy,

(c) Increasing the autonomy of such institutions;

(d) Expanding the extent of verified knowledge about the social conditions to be changed;

(e) Organizing institutions that would continually monitor and evaluate the changes in the social environment, particularly the manifest and latent consequences of development programmes;

(f) Increasing the awareness of minority and marginal groups, and soliciting active support and enforcement of policy.

Public policy which was directed towards promoting integration and class equality in housing has to be based on a combined approach involving both the elimination of barriers to equal opportunity and the redistribution of resources through affirmative action. Obviously, popular support for such an approach might decline from a high consensus on guaranteeing equal rights to a low one when it concerned giving direct support to the poor and disadvantaged. In the design and planning of housing projects the question of the size and number of units involved would have to be carefully considered. The conventionally accepted virtues of large housing projects needed to be severely questioned, particularly if they induced social disintegration through increased individuation and the consequent loss of well-being. If these disadvantages could be reduced by smaller and more intimate living environments, then planners must pay more attention to the size and scale in housing projects. Much could also be done in promoting social integration through housing by paying adequate attention to concepts of civic design, in other words to the provision of a wide range of facilities for different age groups and various interest groups. In particular, the role of housing in the training and educational processes could not be underestimated. The location of housing in connexion with the quality of education available could and did make a major difference in the destiny of people and in the process of social integration.

Finally it was observed that increased residential contact not only shifted intergroup attitudes in more favourable directions but also freed the mind from autistic hostility so that it could devote attention towards more genuine problems. The crucial thing was to dispel fear and to harness the innate human longing to live in peace and friendship with one's neighbours.

B. Cultural factors in the housing patterns of the United States of America

A paper presented by the United States of America on cultural factors in the housing patterns of that country advised that wherever possible cultural differences should be maintained and not destroyed. The thrust of public policy should be the promotion of equal opportunity and integration on the basis of egalitarian principles. It was argued that conventional modes of integration as observed in the United States were premised on the wishes of "super-ordinate" groups willing to

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incorporate a minority in their membership. That kind of integration was ordered from above and did not reflect the respect that was due to the cultural identity of the minority groups.

A fundamental difficulty had always been that differences were regarded in an unequal manner, although exceptions to that rule were witnessed under some conditions.

Early segregation patterns in the United States stemmed from the initial conquest of the Indians and the usurpation of the large expanse of land originally at their disposal. The alarming reduction in the number of Indians that resulted from this confrontation then gave rise to a policy that tended to over-protect the Indians by isolating them in reservations. Although the Indians who crossed the border from Mexico were not isolated, discrimination against them was equally extensive.

In the case of discrimination against blacks, the categorization was not based necessarily on colour, but on a declared distinction between "non-whites" (of African ancestry) and "whites". That distinction was basic, and it was not always understood that the role of colour was somewhat exaggerated, in both the writing and the discussion of segregation in the United States.

Another reason for segregation was premised on the superiority felt by earlier immigrants over latecomers to America. Such segregation took place irrespective of the origin of the successive generations of immigrants to the United States. In the early Civil War, for example, it was Scots who were severely discriminated against.

In the southern United States, the pattern of segregation did not develop any taboos against whites and non-whites living in close proximity, although the caste system effectively discouraged any meaningful social integration from taking place. The rationale for close physical proximity was sustained later by the need to find and to exploit a group kept in servitude and ready to be summoned at short notice to serve the needs of the ruling class. In subsequent years, there was discrimination against those who did not necessarily conform to the accepted norms which in the United States, were synonymous with the values and standards of the middle class. The middle class could be understood better as the proponents of those values and standards than as a group sharing particular attributes of education or income.

It was observed that the growth in recent years of suburban society in America had produced a situation where most Americans lived a segregated life.

With regard to a world-wide approach to integration through housing, it was proposed that everyone should be allowed to go where he pleased, the views and convictions of others being always respected. Attitudinal change alone would not be sufficient, but that this must be supplemented with a plan based on a comprehensive approach. A strategy was proposed for bringing about integration between lagging rural areas and urbans ones, by providing for the free movement of people in both directions. In other words, the possibility for recent comers to the urban scene to move back, for short or long periods of time, to the villages of their rural origin must be increased. The notion that city growth was inevitable must be counteracted. Building rental housing would ensure that those wishing to

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return to the rural areas would not be tied down by the problems and responsibilities of home ownership. It was suggested that the developing world could learn a lesson from the United States where the concept of life built around the ownership of a home had possibly been over-emphasized.

In conclusion, stress was laid on the importance of taking deep-seated cultural values into account in international action for the planning of human settlements. There was an ever-present danger that ideas which were designed and intended for world-wide consumption might have been too heavily weighted by the experience of one country, or one part of the world, and also by the prevalent dichotomizing tendencies of the Euro-American world, in which change too often became merely a pendulum swing from one extreme to another rather than a spiral of increasingly humane, technologically sane and environmentally productive, planning and development. It was also recognized that even the most extensive social science analysis of cultural values at a given period, although a good base, was not sufficient to provide long-term predictions, without a continual testing of the effect of each plan. Social processes like urbanization, although following generally predictable trends, were subject to perturbations which could themselves become triggers of quite unexpected change. That degree of unpredictability in some respects was further exacerbated by the fact that the consequences of building roads, or communication and transportation facilities, left room for continuing discrepancies as plans changed. On the other hand, the testament of antiquity demonstrated that well-chosen sites and well-planned networks of roads, canals, or irrigation ditches could last for many centuries and provide an enduring network within which dynamic change could occur. The seeming paradox of producing a potentiality for creative and adaptive change within a more comprehensively planned network was not in fact a paradox, but simply a means of articulating changes of scale, both of the largest and of the smaller units. That would make it possible to provide continuity and certainty without curtailing the freedom to adapt in diverse ways to changing cultural values, and to the universal (but more recently better understood) human needs for intimacy and for face-to-face communities.

C. Fostering opportunity for race and class integration through housing development policy

Another paper submitted by the United States traced the role of public action in sustaining segregation. It first pointed out that the fear of others was the root-cause of measures for exclusion. Such fear gave sustenance to the notion that it was necessary to provide some protection against injurious factors. The question was how great should the role of public action be in support of seclusion and what form should it take. In the United States where private covenants could be arranged for the disposal of both land and real estate, individual rights secured by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution could be affected. The paper questioned the legality of existing public laws, which supported private covenants guaranteeing the right of individuals and groups to seclude themselves in residential areas.

The tax structure in the United States, it was observed, tended to discriminate against the poor and those who did not own their homes. It noted that for home owners certain tax deductions for interest payments were allowed for both federal and state taxes. That tended to favour middle and upper income groups, who accounted for the bulk of individual home ownership, while no similar benefits were available for the poor living in rental housing.

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The policies of urban renewal in the United States had failed, it was said, with regard to the relocation of families, because people had been forced to move from alleged slums, where a sense of community had existed, and had dispersed to other areas often no better than the old. With the problems facing urban renewal, the policy in the field of urban development shifted towards the so-called "war on poverty". That policy was broadly designed to increase the opportunities for the development of the disadvantaged. Essential to that policy was the model cities programme, aimed at rebuilding central areas through integrated programmes. It was suggested that there was an anomaly in the policy. Ghettos, by definition, were areas where minorities were forced to live. Policies that tended to confine minorities to areas where a wider range of employment and economic opportunity was difficult to find were questionable.

It was further pointed out that a ghetto was a condition and not a place, and that if the causes that gave rise to a ghetto were removed, it was possible that people would prefer to live there. A "ghetto" improved and provided with better amenities, would become known as an "ethnic neighbourhood".

An attempt was made to trace the development that led to the shift of population to suburban areas, where opportunities for employment and better standards of life were abundant. It was argued that since those opportunities were currently available in the suburban areas, it became imperative for public policy to ensure that they were made available to all. Less than 20 per cent of those who might wish to move to the suburban areas could afford the kind of housing that was built in those areas. The shift of population, of opportunities of employment and of better quality education to the suburbs had been coupled with the rise of subtle but effective measures tending to exclude low-income groups. Since, for example the preponderant majority in the lowest income group in the New York city area happened to be blacks and Puerto Ricans, the economic exclusion correlated with and was identical to direct discrimination against those groups.

A fundamental question, then, was how far wealth should be allowed to provide privileges, and what the role of public policy should be.

Areas of general theory were then identified related to the solution of segregation problems in housing areas. It was recognized that either by action or by inaction, government could establish differential rights for different classes of the population. That happened of necessity when government allocated resources: public action in allocating resources for housing development did have consequences for the relative housing situation of different classes and races.

It was suggested that the objective of public policy should be to eliminate conditions of segregation, and that it was essential that public policy be oriented to a redistributive theory of housing development policy and resource allocation. It should be redistributive in the sense that it compensated those classes or races within the population that had been discriminated against as a result of public action. Policy not redistributive in that sense would tend to exacerbate existing patterns of segregation.

Members of the Group took issue with the theory that the public sector must take measures to support exclusivity as well as to support the right to mobility. The support by the public of exclusivity could be proper only in a situation of great abundance of housing resources. In such circumstances the allocation of

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resources to those who chose to reside only with certain classes or races would have no detrimental affect upon the rights of others within the society. But so long as resources were scarce, and significant portions of the population remained deprived of the opportunity to live decently, then allocations that promoted exclusivity could very well restrict opportunities for mobility and decent housing.

Some fundamental questions were also raised as to the appropriate nature and pattern of integration between races and income classes, and the kind of compensatory policies that needed to be promulgated if a truly integrated society was to arise. The need was recognized for further research in this area, and planners were called on to increase their awareness of the problem and to live up to their moral duty to practise their profession in such a way as to advance social integration.

With regard to the question of the impact of the environment on the poor and the disadvantaged, it was recalled that urban pollution affected, to a disproportionately large extent, racial minorities and people with low incomes isolated in urban slums. Public practices that either promoted or intensified the segregation of minorities in areas that received the greatest amount of pollution should be eliminated. Part of the tragedy of the slums was that they were a product of human actions and concepts and their existence depended on public support. A demonstration of concern for the environment must include strong action aimed at the improvement of slums and at the elimination of the causes of their existence.

D. The role of a dwelling in the development of social integration

The expert from Poland dealt with the relevant problems in that country. He stated that since sharp distinctions between different economic classes and/or other groupings did not exist in Polish society, the problem of spatial segregation had not achieved alarming proportions. Nevertheless, the State was conscious of the possibilities of segregation and tried to take appropriate measures in all fields, including housing. Consequently the paper on the role of the dwelling in the development of social integration dealt mainly with strategies for avoiding segregation and for increasing social integration.

The paper confined itself to a discussion of housing in Poland, which was constructed by socialized sector and financed by the State. The socialized housing construction was realized both by the State and by co-operatives.

The greater part of housing construction was erected in the form of multi-storey buildings. Single-family housing constituted no more than 30 per cent of all housing construction. The Group was given to understand that single-family houses that were in private ownership before the Second World War had not been nationalized.

All housing, whether owned by the State or by the co-operatives, was rented out through official channels, that was to say through national councils or employers, at relatively low rents. The government-owned housing was generally rented out at the rate of 3 per cent of a family's income and co-operatively owned housing at a rate of from 5-6 per cent of the family's income.

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The expert pointed out that one of the basic social goals of housing policy in Poland was to enable each citizen to improve his housing conditions, independently of his social and financial situation. That policy was implemented through the following instruments:

(a) System of rents;

(b) Controlled distribution of dwellings;

(c) Investment structure and system of housing finance;

(d) Building and urbanistic standards.

All new housing had fixed standards for facilities and amenities as well as for minimum and maximum allotments of floor space, making the differentiation of dwellings on those bases rather difficult. Coupled with housing policy regulations controlling the distribution of dwellings, those standards led to the result that people from different walks of life, and having different tastes, lived side by side.

In Poland, considerable progress had been made with respect to co-operative housing. The majority of co-operative housing estates, apart from their equipment and other facilities, such as shops, service centres, churches, kindergartens, schools, health centres, and playgrounds for children, were characterized as rich socio-cultural environments. The housing estates offered many possibilities for contacts among their inhabitants, allowing them to establish firm and lasting social relations.

However, one phenomenon, which seemed to have a temporary character but which sometimes made the process of social integration of urban populations difficult, was the existence of differences in the housing conditions of people living in old and new housing stock. This problem was primarily found in some small and middle-sized towns characterized by dynamic industrialization. Existing towns were being enriched by new housing estates, but new quarters were intended, for the most part, for people coming from outside, and newly employed in newly industrial establishments.

It was pointed out that the "intelligentsia", nevertheless, tended to live in older parts of town, partly because some of the older parts had a historically and culturally high status, and partly because the older houses in the central parts of the towns could provide the possibility of higher standards of furnishing and the like. Some members of the Group gave examples from other parts of the world where the same tendency could be observed.

The expert attributed great impartance to the fact that local authorities were transferring a number of their present functions to various social organizations and to a number of resident-controlled self-governing bodies. That move was expected to enhance the possibility of enlarged and deepened social collaboration in residential areas.

For further social integration of people living in towns, the implementation of the programme of complex modernization of old quarters and housing complexes seemed to be of basic importance, as it would bring the quality of housing in the old quarters up to that of the new buildings and new housing estates.

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It was also agreed that scientific research could make a substantial contribution in the establishment of appropriate means of exerting influence on the development of social integration.

The Group also discussed apparent conflicts in ideology in relation to the growth of urban areas: those included the question of providing opportunities for the population to move into the urban areas and the question of restricting movement to urban areas. Although no agreement could be reached, there was a general consensus that the inordinate growth of urban areas must be restricted.

E. Residential pattern with respect to segregation and integration of different human groups of Greater Kampala

The expert from Uganda highlighted the problems of social integration on the basis of a case study from Kampala. In Kampala, segregation of different types occurred simultaneously. For example, segregation was based not only on ethnic origins, but on tribal and kinship ties and other such. In recent years, some tendencies towards socio-economic segregation had also become visible within different groups.

There appeared to be different views on the problem of segregation in Uganda. Persons who had become well off materially and had left their traditional tribal and kinship groups were not strong supporters of social integration. They felt that an integrated environment including persons from their own groups might place them in a situation where they would be morally forced to share their wealth with poor relatives and kin.

Since Uganda had attained independence in 1962, strongly segregated areas had gradually started to become integrated. It was important, however, to note that some groups, especially those of Asian background, were still very cohesive.

There was considerable movement of population, particularly between Kampala and its hinterland. People who came to Kampala did not always settle down there; they might move back to the rural areas and new immigrants might take their place.

Since the Government of Uganda lacked the resources to provide rental housing, it encouraged the private sector to produce such housing. The Government was also encouraging efforts to develop the countryside by providing an infrastructure of such services as schools and hospitals. Although Kampala and Jinja remained the principal centres of attraction for industry, Uganda's latest five year development plan showed an awareness of the need to make rural areas more attractive to new industries.

Some of the conclusions of the Kampala study were that:

(a) Although Uganda had a pronounced tribal society, the social and economic systems were undergoing considerable change;

(b) The population of Greater Kampala was heterogeneous and had evolved a pattern of settlement based on racial and ethnic grouping, with social and economic segmentation;

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(c) Uncontrolled settlement occurring in the peri-urban fringe presented serious problems of slum growth;

(d) Ethnic or tribal groups occupied clearly defined areas, especially in the peri-urban settlements of spontaneous growth. There were, however, signs, especially among middle-income and high-income groups, that a pattern of economic and class stratification was emerging that cut across ethnic lines;

(e) The traditional family structure was under pressure, and many Ugandans were forced into adopting a Western family pattern. Yet family ties and the kinship network remained strong.

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F. Segregation and social integration of housing in Japan: case study of an urban slum area in Tokyo

The expert from Japan presented findings of a case study of the living conditions in a slum area (Sanya) in the Greater Tokyo region, and also discussed some general conditions of similar areas in other major cities.

The Japanese expert said that the impact of the excessively high growth of the Japanese capitalist economy had, in giving inadequate attention to social welfare, created a number of serious problems in relation to housing, the maintenance of the urban environment, population concentration and growing slum conditions in big cities. He also emphasized that the extreme poverty areas in Tokyo and other big cities were products of neglect; they fostered the idea that the inhabitants of such areas were social drop-outs and outcasts, and reflected the monopolistic policy of accelerating economic growth regardless of social costs.

Employers often refused to hire people from slum areas, even if their academic records were good. Other discriminatory practices, although not so severe as the racial and ethnic discrimination observed in some nations, were very common. In Japan discrimination against entire slum communities was apparent in the treatment of school-age children and in the occupational status of the work force from slum areas.

In the Sanya area, with a population of 10,000, dominated by male daily manual workers, a number of unsatisfactory, low-cost hotels had been established for incoming residents. The establishment of these hotels had produced a slum atmosphere in the Sanya quarter and had contributed to the crucial problem of social segregation of the inhabitants of Sanya quarter from the rest of society.

The desires and modes of life of the slum residents were restricted to drinking, gambling and frequenting low-grade cinemas and theatres: in their day-to-day existence they were apathetic. Indecisiveness about permanent living quarters, caused by insecurity and the desire for a vagabond life were typical of the slum resident. The majority of the inhabitants had no savings and so it was difficult for them to move, even when better kinds of housing were available.

As a result of a neglect of the basic socio-cultural and material facilities in the Sanya area, the incidence of illness was very high. High percentages of stomach and intestinal disorders were observed. The greater frequency of contracting illness after moving to the quarter was also noted. Although not statistically confirmed, it seemed certain that more people with mental disorders, psychoses and other handicaps lived in Sanya quarter than in other districts.

A minor effort toward social integration had been made by the Tokyo metropolitan government and the municipal authorities. About 3 per cent of the inhabitants were able to move to scattered housing areas set up by the Tokyo metropolis. The welfare centre of that quarter provided counselling and job replacement services, as well as inspection services.

Despite those efforts to assist and despite attempts at rehabilitation, the results had not been fruitful. The Japanese expert mentioned the following difficulties: when impoverished people moved into the Sanya quarter, which was already inhabited by people in the same predicament, a common consciousness developed arising from their similarities. Because of their questionable background,

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people from Sanya quarter did not venture outside for fear of being recognized for their past history. Such situations tend to establish a group feeling. The Japanese expert pointed out that, because of the policy of accelerating the capitalist economy and because of poor social education and the pressure of economic competition, the public was apathetic regarding welfare and other policies for people in need. Therefore, people of slum areas, and the physically and mentally handicapped, were given relatively little attention and were treated unfairly. The citizens living outside the quarter tended to look down on Sanya dwellers, and the barrier of that prejudice was strong. Because of that, some of the inhabitants of Sanya, after moving to other Tokyo districts, often returned to the old neighbourhood to stay.

The expert proposed two approaches for dealing with the problems of slum areas that confronted present-day Japan. One was to establish a humanistically oriented plan to disperse slum areas, or to improve and rehabilitate them, with the co-operation of civilians, politicians and social scientists. It was essential that members of those professional categories co-operate and work for common goals to develop social welfare policy and to assist poverty-stricken people in their efforts to become economically self-sufficient. With such an orientation in mind, certain economic policies, together with psychological reforms, should be used to break down discrimination against slum inhabitants. Other policies could reform the slums from within, helping to alleviate feelings of inferiority and encouraging slum inhabitants to improve their conditions.

Another possible approach was more general: to decrease the bureaucracy-oriented way of tackling the problem and to promote community consciousness based on egalitarianism. Since bureaucratic methods of handling public affairs had a strong tradition in Japan, for historical reasons, it was essential that some means of educating policy makers to greater public awareness be established. To eliminate slum housing conditions and to promote social integration, it was essential that a sound community consciousness be established at all levels. Such a premise might provide the basis for effective actions and policies directed at promoting public security, as well as at the elimination of slums and at improving housing conditions in general. That would eventually bring about successful social integration.

G. Housing as a factor in social integration: the traveller in Ireland

The Irish expert provided background information on the national policy, and examined in that context the question of the "traveller" and of his integration in the settled community. He noted that wariness of strangers was a deep-seated trait, and that the notion of people helping one another could not always be taken for granted. He also noted that the more pronounced were differences between groups, the more chance there was for segregation and polarization.

The paper described a subculture in Ireland of nearly 1,300 families known variously as tinkers, itinerants or travellers. While approximately one fourth of the traveller population were currently settled on camping sites with services, the remainder, having no fixed residence, lived in motor caravans, horse-drawn wagons, and tents. Traditionally they had earned their living by tinsmithing, horse dealing, peddling, begging, seasonal farm work, and other odd jobs. However,

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modernization had made most of those traditional occupations obsolete. Currently, traveller men depended primarily on scrap metal collecting and unemployment assistance for their income, while the women, the major providers in most traveller families, begged.

The travellers, unlike the Romany gypsies whom they resembled in some ways, were an indigenous group. Like the settled population from which they originated, they were full-blooded Irish, Catholic, and English-speaking. The evidence seemed to indicate that the ancestors of most of the present-day traveller families were Irish peasants driven off their lands during the British occupation of Ireland or during the famines of the nineteenth century. Others were mediaeval journeymen, primarily copper and tinsmiths, who had never settled. And a few families were more recent drop-outs and social misfits from the settled population.

Membership in the travelling community had been fairly stable. Family clans were well established. One hundred families with the same surname could be found. This would indicate a mass exodus from the settled community or, more probably, many generations or even centuries on the road. There were few new additions to the travelling fraternity and few had reintegrated themselves into the settled community.

The case study estimated that up to 75 per cent of the traveller population would have liked to settle, preferably in houses. But owing to the shortage of housing, to the antagonism of the settled population to the traveller and often to the traveller's own difficulties in adapting to a sedentary existence, only 330 families had been housed, and most of those only in the previous seven years.

The study discussed government policy regarding the settlement of travellers and the structure of the settlement movement, which consisted of 100 local committees of volunteers who were attempting to accommodate travellers on sites and/or in houses. The Government had encouraged the settlement of travellers by offering a 100 per cent subsidy to local authorities for the construction of sites with services.

The case study examined the effectiveness of sites and other types of housing patterns in integrating the travellers into the settled community. While accommodation at sites with services led to a general improvement of the traveller's appearance, housekeeping, work habits, children's education, and other behaviour patterns, the level of integration achieved was minimal. As long as the travellers were still physically isolated from the settled community on such sites they could not be socially integrated. Housing a large concentration of travellers together on one block also achieved little integration. Integration was greatest in areas where travellers had been spread out along one street or dispersed in several different neighbourhoods.

The Irish expert noted that integration was a two-way process, involving changes in behaviour and in attitudes on the part of both the settled population and the travellers. The study presented a five step scale of integration that described the stages or changes a traveller passed through on the way to full integration. The first two steps towards integration - an improvement in appearance and a decline in the incidence of begging - were taken solely by the traveller and showed his willingness to become part of the settled community. The remaining three stages required not only further changes on the part of the traveller, but

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also a willingness on the part of the settled community to permit the traveller to participate in the activities and life of the community.

In the discussion that followed the presentation of the case studies from Ireland and Japan, experts questioned the validity of promulgating a policy of integration whose ultimate purpose was to erase the identity of those to be integrated. The Group noted that in Ireland a substantial proportion of the travellers elected not to settle, and that in Japan more than 50 per cent of those in the Sanya quarter wished to stay there, in spite of the appalling conditions. While the explanations for these preferences were elusive, it was clear that public policy must assume a position flexible enough to accommodate them.

The question of who adjusted to whom, in the context of rapid change and exchange was considered a fundamental one. Furthermore, with regard to investment sought by developing countries, special policies and techniques were needed for the kinds of mutual adjustment required between the investor's values and needs and those of the host country. Those policies and techniques must be given careful consideration and analysis.

H. The social aspects of self-help housing programmes

The expert from Argentina, in his exposition, first provided a review of general conditions of housing and urbanization in Latin America and then highlighted certain important points from a case study of social integration through housing from Ciudad Kennedy in Bogotá, Colombia.

Among the developing regions, Latin America seemed to be the most urbanized, with about 50 per cent of its population living in urban centres of 10,000 or more inhabitants. The rural-urban polarity had become quite marked in Latin America. Even people of the lowest status in the socio-economic hierarchy of the towns felt that they were much better off than their brothers and sisters in the rural areas. The Group was informed that migration to urban areas was an aspect of the revolutionary movement: people did not any longer wish to live the way they had lived. Not to be overlooked was the question of integration through the labour market, as well as the reduction of inequalities in income distribution.

Concerning the case study from Ciudad Kennedy, the Expert Group noted that social integration through housing had been successfully achieved. This provided cause for optimism with regard to the possibility of adopting such an approach elsewhere.

The integration programme in the Ciudad Kennedy area was planned with two major objectives:

(a) To integrate the newly settled families as one community within the new project;

(b) To integrate the new community into the lifestream of the capital city.

To achieve the first objective, the families were carefully selected, so that there was a balance between different socio-economic levels within each block and also within each superblock. The beneficiaries selected ranged from unskilled

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workers to professionals with university degrees. The choice of families was made according to income, family composition, age of head of family, and profession. It was considered necessary to have a certain number of occupations represented in each block for a better performance in the self-help construction stage. The combination of different socio-economic levels was made possible by having, within each superblock and sometimes within each block, houses of different cost and design.

The integration was achieved by means of intensive activity in group work. A total of 7,008 meetings were held during the various planning and building stages of the project. The training started with the preparation of the families for the self-help process. The programme included explanation and education, and the organization of each group, which elected a board including a chairman, a treasurer, and a controller, whose function was to direct the operations of the group until construction was completed. Training included adequate instruction concerning the organization of the group itself, the management of the building site, the supply of building materials, the control of the members participating in the self-help activities, and the management of contributions coming from fines and fees. This training was considered basic for the future organization of the community, as future leaders would emerge from careful development at that stage.

After the construction was completed, the 219 original groups were reorganized into 10 large groups, corresponding to the 10 demarcated superblocks. Each group elected a board of directors and a number of specialized committees to take care of the different programmes that were given priority by the families in each superblock. In care of the social development of each superblock there was a social team consisting of social workers and home economists. This form of organization was maintained for more than a year and then, once the unity of each superblock had been consolidated, a new step was taken: the social teams for each superblock were dissolved and regrouped on a functional basis for the whole of Cuidad Kennedy. This was done after an intensive programme of discussions with the people and explanations of the purpose, which was to make of Ciudad Kennedy a single cohesive community.

The next step was the integration of Ciudad Kennedy as a unit with the adjacent neighbourhoods. This was possible because of the access the neighbouring communities were given to the services available in Cuidad Kennedy. As new privately and publicly sponsored housing projects were begun on vacant land around Ciudad Kennedy, families moving to the new projects were forced to use the facilities offered in Ciudad Kennedy until they could establish their own.

The final stage was the integration of Ciudad Kennedy into the urban life of the city. This was accomplished by an administrative proposal to the Mayor's office. The proposal was based on the situation arising from the creation of the capital district. The capital district had been formed by merging the original city of Bogotá with five surrounding municipalities. In the merger, the mayor of each of those municipalities was given the rank of assistant mayor (alcaldes menores) and municipal offices were retained in each of the merged municipalities. The proposal put forward by the Board of Ciudad Kennedy, and accepted by the Major, gave the project the same status that had been given to the merged municipalities. That included having an assistant mayor and municipal offices within Ciudad Kennedy.

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Ciudad Kennedy now had a very active community life and services. Many community enterprises had been organized on co-operative basis, and the social programme which included the development of arts and crafts and small industries had been quite successful. The activities of the community itself provided an increasing number of employment opportunities.

It had taken a period of seven years to reach the level of activity and integration described in the report. By the end of that period the social personnel (social workers and home economists) had been withdrawn from the project, but the social processes they had initiated continued very actively.

I. The Göteborg region: a case study in regional inequalities

The Swedish expert analysed the forces creating inequalities in the Göteborg region, which had 700,000 inhabitants. In recent years the central area, Göteborg, had experienced a decrease in population, whereas the outlying communes were experiencing an increase.

A comparison of the central commune and the outer areas in terms of available amenities revealed major differences; those differences were used as an index to measure which of the areas were most habitable.

In the region's central parts there were the lergest number of administrative institutions and public offices; smaller households; households without children (80 per cent); older apartments; small flats in apartment houses; gainfully employed persons; work places (80 per cent); shops and commercial services; theatres and concert halls; health services (doctors, dentists, and hospitals); secondary schools; universities; youth centres; sport areas; and high density areas.

The central parts of the region also had the highest social costs; total maintenance costs; average salary per inhabitant; and tax revenue per inhabitant.

In the outer areas there were the largest number of families with children; of large flats; of low-rise housing; and of open spaces and recreation areas. There were also higher tax rates, fewer job opportunities, fewer secondary schools, fewer sport areas, and a generally low level of commercial service.

In spite of negative factors - such as long distances between home and work - that would appear to discourage movement to the outer areas, their population was growing. Apparently people were prepared to sacrifice shorter travel time, lower taxes, and even better employment opportunities and higher income, for good recreation facilities, a good environment, and more spacious dwellings. Thus one saw that the effect of the movement became a cause for the creation of inequalities.

The rents were similar in the central and in the outer parts of the region. The report indicated that nearly 3,000 apartments were vacant in the central parts. In the central region, technical facilities for the treatment of sewage, the removal of garbage, water-supply, the cleaning of air etc., had been improved, and regional systems had been set up for those purposes, resulting in better environmental quality in the central core at an early stage. Regional systems like those should have had the effect of concentrating new development housing close to such services for reasons of economy. Movement to the outer areas and the consequent dispersion

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of housing inevitably raised the costs of the necessary technical services. That observation underscored the need for the regional co-ordination of housing projects.

The expert noted that there was an increasing tendency to live permanently in summer houses, in spite of the inconvenience connected with living under somewhat primitive conditions. The expert also pointed out the importance of climate and topography in determining the location of housing, especially for old people and for the physically disabled.

The Swedish expert described the strategy that was being tried out to solve the problems of the Göteborg region. It included upgrading the environmental quality; upgrading the services offered; improving the employment situation, in the outer areas; and improving access to the coastal recreational areas. For the purpose of improving the region's recreational possibilities as well as its technical systems (such as sewage treatment) joint communal companies had been formed to buy land for preservation and to run operational units.

The strategy stressed that housing could not be considered independently of other factors; it recognized the importance of providing equal housing opportunities for all, and equal access to cultural, social and commercial services.

In the discussion that followed, the experts were informed that there was no evidence to prove that the movement of people from the core areas was caused by higher crime rates or other similar factors. Nor did it seem to be caused by tax advantages or by the financing system currently used by the central Government, since most of the housing was financed by state-sponsored loans, and rents were roughly equal to those of new developments in different parts of the region.

The Group noted that the strategy sought to establish rather high standards in the field of child care within the Göteborg region. The purpose was to liberate adults and to make it possible for both man and wife to work professionally, if they so desired. The Swedish strategy also aimed at a reduction of the total number of working hours in order to allow both parents more time to be at home with their children.

The Group was informed that it was not considered desirable to separate old people's homes from those of others. Instead it was now a rule to integrate old people's dwellings within the large community and to help older people to stay in their own homes as long as possible by offering social services such as meals or cleaning. In regard to the national programme for the decentralization of public administration and services, the Group noted that the policy was to move self-contained institutions to selected areas. When dispersing heavily centralized educational facilities, for example, practice favoured starting with such institutions of higher learning as university branches.

The movement of people described in the Göteborg case study was entirely voluntary, reflecting a changing life style and a preference for the natural environment as opposed to that of the central region, where services and pleasant outdoor areas were missing. The movement was said to be entirely voluntary since the conventional pull-and-push factors were not operating. That being the case, some of the experts wondered exactly what kind of public policy might be most effective in meeting that challenge.

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It was clear to the Group that the methodology employed in analysing the emergence of inequalities in the Göteborg region should be of interest to all planners concerned with the promotion of social integration, and might serve as a useful model for many countries.

J. Social integration and segregation with particular reference to physical planning

The paper submitted by Sweden defined social integration as "the act or process of bringing together different social entities (i.e. individuals)". "Bringing together" referred to establishing socially meaningful relationships between different individuals; communication was considered to be the root of the process. Different kinds of communication between various groups were discussed with respect to their contribution to social integration.

Social segregation, as an opposite pole to social integration, was said to have its origins in inequality, prejudice and discrimination; its negative consequences were dealt with as a basis for a proposal of social integration.

It was stated that persons responsible for physical planning had a moral obligation to make the utmost effort to create social conditions that were likely to promote social integration. It was considered a basic human right of each individual to feel himself as socially integrated. That integration should be based on personal integrity, freedom of choice, equality and the right to share fully the advantages of society.

Attention was then paid to a practical application of the concept: the integration of service facilities and/or localities for user service in residential areas. A study of integration of service facilities in residential areas had been initiated by a governmental committee in Sweden in 1967.

Recognizing the needs for better service in residential areas that Committee had tried to describe the different service facilities required in old and modern communities: child supervision; service for the elderly, the sick and the disabled; recreational and cultural services; meals service; home help; laundry service; goods delivery; and public service, such as banks, post offices and national insurance offices.

It was declared that the main role of service facilities in housing areas was to lighten the burden of wearisome household tasks, to increase the scope for the development of personality and the pursuit of healthy activities, and to help to establish increased security, equality and fraternity. The discussion of priorities was considered a matter of urgent importance, the main purpose being to establish the nature and extent of the community's responsibility and of its contribution to the provision of services.

One of many ways to reach the goals mentioned above was to integrate the different service activities. The main purpose for such integration was to form better contact between people and groups in residential areas; another was to increase social safety for different groups, such as the elderly, the sick, and the disabled.

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Another important reason to integrate service facilities was to save money; integrated solutions would normally decrease the costs of erecting and maintaining buildings and for carrying out service activities.

In conclusion, five points were emphasized:

(a) The main purpose of integrating different service activities in service facility complexes in residential areas was to increase the security of the inhabitants and to improve community relations;

(b) One way to reach that goal was to use the primary and the comprehensive school as a base for different activities and to use the different premises and workshops for all groups and individuals in the residential areas;

(c) That kind of integration demanded a co-ordination of all participants in the complex during the planning phase as later, when the complex was in use;

(d) Such integration also demanded a co-ordination of financial resources. That meant not only that different State and municipal loan systems would have to be co-ordinated, but also that the complex should be erected, administered, and run by just one principal body;

(e) Integration in the physical sense entailed the co-ordinated use of premises, with the result that space was used with notably greater efficiency. Administrative integration could reduce even further the cost of an integrated service complex.

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II. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Basic considerations

Integration: an ongoing process

1. Integration and segregation are processes that accompany changes in society. As a result of segregation, at every stage of societal development, there may be some minority groups who are deprived of the chance of active participation in the development of the larger society. On the other hand, societal changes that support and hasten the process of social integration create harmony, not only at the level of society, but also at the community, national, and global levels. The individuals who are included in the integrative process develop meaningful social relationships with each other and feelings of genuine human concern for each other, and thus make it possible for different human groups to live in a spirit of brotherhood and to direct their actions for the benefit of the human community as a whole.

2. A well-integrated society is likely to provide positive conditions for the development of a many-sided and full-grown personality. The Expert Group stressed that diversity in the social environment was important because it was likely to:

(a) Provide the possibility of free choice with respect to social relationships;

(b) Increase the individual's willingness to accept the customs and values of others as having as much validity as his own;

(c) Prepare the individual for the complexities of modern life;

(d) Permit the individual to recognize the relativity of his own values.

3. Physical integration of different groups is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for social integration. The integration of widely different groups can be achieved through changes in attitudes brought about by relevant and adequate education.

4. An integrated society is likely to create conditions under which each individual can understand his duties as well as his rights within the modern world's shifting frames of reference, at the community, the national, and the international levels.

5. An integrated society is likely to create conditions that are more favourable for the equitable distribution and the rational use of material resources.

6. Integration and segregation, rather than being polar opposites, are points on a continuum which extends from complete isolation to complete incorporation of groups. For the sake of individual security and identity, a certain level of

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segregation may be desirable in some cases. But when segregation reaches the level of exclusion, restricting freedom of contact between individuals, it is harmful.

7. Segregation can be considered to exist, on a global scale, between the industrialized and the developing countries. This segregation is primarily of an economic nature, but it also has profound social, political and cultural implications. Global segregation results in a disproportionately large consumption of the world's resources by a small percentage of the world's population. The insecure economic position of the poor countries in the world market is one of the causes of rapid and chaotic urbanization. Developing countries are therefore unable to provide the organizational, professional and material resources needed to meet the problem of housing.

8. Segregation is based on differences that exist between two or more categories of people. These differences may be racial, ethnic, economic, religious and of many other kinds. The effects of social segregation depend in part upon the type of difference involved. However, one usual effect is the spatial separation of groups from each other.

9. Segregation tends to breed inequality which in turn reinforces segregation. Inequality in this sense refers not only to an inequitable distribution of economic resources, but also to any form of inequality, social, educational or cultural.

10. Segregation prevents assimilation, even in those cases where it may be beneficial to the segregated groups. This is of particular importance to those groups who wish to lose their "negative" identity and to gain social anonymity and acceptance within the larger society. Otherwise, integration is best carried out in such a way that the identity of the integrating group is not lost.

11. Large scale physical segregation of some groups that are internally fairly homogeneous and well integrated may lead to the reinforcement and perpetuation of those very traits that are the basic causes of segregation.

Housing as a means for social integration

12. The Expert Group recognized that economic, social, political and environmental conditions varied greatly among nations, and that, owing to those differences, standards for acceptable and unacceptable living conditions must be interpreted in light of the availability of resources, technological development, the prevailing economic and political systems and cultural values. However, the Group referred to article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and asserted that each family or individual had an inherent set of rights with regard to housing, and should be able to live in:

(a) A good home obtainable at a reasonable cost;

(b) An environmentally sound community;

(c) A community providing the necessary social, economic, political and physical services and facilities required for full participation in the society;

(d) An area chosen by the individual or family.

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13. The first requirement for meeting the objective of integration is that all classes of the population be treated equally in terms of their access to housing. No group should, because of its race, sex, or income class be denied its rights to housing. To assure all peoples equal access to housing will require a major restructuring of the society's resources at the community, national and international levels.

14. Housing has a key role to play in promoting social integration, especially if it is conceived of as encompassing different educational, social and cultural services. Thus, broadly understood, housing can increase the possibility of meaningful interaction between individuals and groups, thereby widening the intellectual and emotional horizons of all.

15. If the thesis is accepted that a society's physical planning reflects its values and needs, it follows that one of the basic effects of an integrated society will be that the functions of housing, in particular, will go far beyond merely providing shelter. Housing as a means of creating communities should perform a double function: the interior, one of providing a place where a household of different ages, sex, education, occupation, intellectual modes and values can meet in harmony; and the exterior, one of providing meeting grounds for groups or households and for the healthy and enjoyable enrichment of their lives and the life of community. Therefore, any given housing and housing area should be so planned as to satisfy both functions.

B. Strategies

General policies for social integration

16. Special note is taken of the fact that public acts of omission may frequently be as unjustly discriminatory as public acts of overt discrimination. Thus passive public acceptance of an act of discrimination by some other public and private body is fully as discriminatory as the manifest act. An example of this would be public inaction in the face of the deterioration of a residential community, be it a recognized community or an illegal squatter settlement. The public has an obligation to promote acceptable standards of housing in all areas at all times; and Governments should formulate their policies accordingly.

17. In many societies, both industrialized and developing, the separation between people who belong to the rural subsistence economy and those who belong to the urban industrial economy is extremely sharp, and has negative effects both on the national economy and on the development of a national identity. Governments should so formulate their policies that inadequate transport, sharp differences in living standards, differential access to public services, such as those of education, health and recreation, differential access to information and political expression - all the factors that exacerbate segregation - are so far as possible eliminated.

18. Great disparities in wealth between the rich and the poor of a society must be reduced if one of the fundamental causes of segregation is to be removed. Further, community planning should emphasize housing needs, and greater resources must be allocated to the solution of the housing problems of the poor.

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19. Further, in many countries capital seems to have more priority as a factor of production than labour. The existence and maintenance of a floating work force is therefore considered economically advantageous by many Governments. Poor workers coming from rural areas to the large cities in the developing countries, and migrant workers in the industrialized world, are not properly housed. They are kept floating, which exposes them to a wide range of economic exploitation. Government policies should aim at a total cessation of all such exploitation of the work force.

20. Since limited national resources may impose limits on available housing, housing policy should not be allowed to support public or private acts of discrimination or segregation directed against any part of the population. To this end, "guest" workers and other migrants to a nation must be considered as part of the population and entitled to the full range of claims to social welfare.

21. Segregation by race is prevalent wherever urban or national boundaries include multiple ethnic groups. Barriers to social advancement erected against members of minority groups contribute to the negative stereotyping of the minorities as ignorant, violent or immoral, and therefore to their exclusion from the majority's residential areas and social associations. Government must actively combat practices that exclude individuals from good quality education, employment, housing or other benefits on the basis of race, if segregation is ever to be ended.

22. The excessive centralization of such service facilities as higher education facilities, and of many governmental functions has led to the growth of segregated communities whose members are denied free access to such facilities. The Group recommends that Governments consider the establishment of comprehensive plans for the decentralization of central government services and executive functions as a concomitant to social integration.

23. The Group noted that the Swedish policy, which emphasized the transfer of self-contained service institutions to selected areas where they were available to more of the population, presented a good example for promoting social integration through decentralization.

Housing policies for social integration

24. Public resource allocations in the field of housing should be so structured as always to guarantee that the major beneficiaries of the allocations will be those sectors of the population whose housing conditions are least satisfactory.

25. Any public programme of housing allocation that does not consciously aim at the redistribution of housing opportunities for the benefit of those who have been denied such opportunities will tend to enlarge existing patterns of segregation and discrimination. The allocation of public resources through tax, loan, grant and insurance programmes should also always be redistributive along the same lines. Furthermore, the issue of environmental conservation should not be used as a rationale for denying housing rights to any group.

26. The market finance mechanisms prevailing in housing sectors in some societies should not be allowed to deny advantages to persons who already have lower social positions. An individual's inherent right to decent housing should in no way

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be diluted by his social condition or his position on the economic scale. As long as public policy and public action are primarily geared to the distribution of housing according to the economic capabilities of families and individuals, segregation is bound to increase.

27. In all public action related to housing, there should be a strong effort to avoid the bureaucratic manipulation of the housing choices of the beneficiaries of housing programmes during the planning and development stages. Efforts should be made by management to recognize and use the potential of the citizens (especially those most directly affected by such programmes) to encourage their full participation in the planning and development processes.

28. The public capital available for housing investment should in the first place be directed to those residential areas where the most underprivileged persons or groups live or to those areas where such underprivileged persons would wish to move. In the rebuilding of the areas that are at present poorest, special attention should be given to the provision of a sanitary environment, recreational areas and other required community services and facilities.

29. The public rebuilding of areas of poor housing may include the rebuilding of areas at present identified as illegal for housing but where nevertheless, large populations are now housed.

30. Land and housing development laws regarding any given area should be applied so as to permit the inclusion of housing for all sectors of the population. Laws that restrict opportunity to a class or race are manifestly unjust and discriminatory. National Governments must be careful to see that local and regional public agencies do not use national public funds in such way as to develop segregated communities.

31. In order to increase the opportunities of individuals and families for free choice of where they live and work, housing tenure should be made as flexible as possible. Thus it is necessary to amend laws and rules that make the transfer of housing difficult, so as to permit a more rapid alienation of property or housing.

32. The relocation of population made necessary by urban improvement programmes should always provide a positive opportunity to improve the housing conditions of the dislocated population. It should be a process phased over time so as to avoid sudden disruptions in community life.

Social programming and planning

33. Planning procedure should be modernized, particularly in these three respects:

(a) Integration of social, economic and physical aspects of a plan;

(b) Feedback of the results of planning, including detailed research;

(c) Opportunity for public participation.

34. A condition for integrating social aspects in the plan is that social objectives be formulated explicitly. This is a task for the politicians, but the knowledge that forms the basis of their decisions must be supplied by planners and research workers.

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35. The organization and competence of the planning machinery of a country - the legislative and administrative apparatus, the qualifications of planners, planning methods and the like - represent the means by which the social goals for housing and the man-made environment are implemented. They therefore have a decisive influence on the results. In spite of the growing problems of urbanized areas all over the world, planning machinery has been slow to change so that it can adequately cope with social problems.

36. Planning is still considered primarily as an economic and technical concern. Economic and physical plans are prepared without any consideration of their social consequences for the population. This may be due to the fact that the social consequences of a plan cannot easily be measured and expressed in quantitative terms. Often there has not even been an adequate conceptualization and description of the social situation in a built-up area. However, the social consequences of a plan should in any case be studied, and therefore proper tools of study should be developed.

37. Since planners cannot possibly consider all the requirements of all residents with respect to housing, people should be encouraged to participate actively in the process of providing decent housing.

38. The traditional role of women, as the provider for some of the family's needs, tends to isolate her in the dwelling. At the same time, it is just this very isolation which also reinforces her traditional role. Housing should be designed to break this isolation.

Training, education and research

39. Much discrimination and segregation in housing result from inadequate knowledge. Education has an important role to play in improving understanding among people. The Group recommends that particular attention should be given to promoting:

(a) The development and dissemination of educational materials which will give due recognition to the contributions of all groups within the society, and thus help to eliminate discriminatory stereotyping;

(b) Exchange of information between countries, of the same or of different technological levels, while at the same time preventing the unexamined transfer of educational forms and planning styles from one country to another;

(c) A diversified type of education by including in the same institutions people of different ages and sexes, and members of different classes and ethnic groups, and by discouraging single-ladder types of education in which "drop-outs" will be subject to discrimination and segregation.

40. To increase the ability of citizens to participate in decision-making processes regarding new housing, education of the public should include opportunities to learn about the role and nature of housing programmes. Special courses should be offered to educate citizens with regard to housing and related urban issues. It is also imperative that professionals working in the field of housing and urban development be educated in such a way as to help them to work with citizens, to understand their needs, and to encourage them to participate

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actively in the making of decisions. Further, so that citizens may avoid being merely the subjects of plans designed by others, public funds should be available for them to employ experts to help them in dealing with special technical issues.

41. It should be the professional responsibility of planners and others working in the housing development field to ensure that in all their work, consideration is given to the needs of lower income families and to those minority groups that have the greatest need for decent housing. It should no longer be considered professionally correct for a planning or housing development study to exclude explicit identification of the social and economic consequences of proposed policies and programmes for different sectors of the population.

42. At the moment, research is concentrating on building techniques. It is urgent that social sciences dealing with urban housing and planning problems be given expanded resources, both for the education of planners and for research. For a start is would be valuable to make a multinational inquiry into the resources spent on the social aspects of housing planning compared with research on building techniques and economics.

43. In developing countries in particular, local personnel should be trained in housing management and planning, and courses should be organized to provide a fuller understanding of the social and economic aspects of housing. These are vital steps in the process of fostering social integration.

C. Planning techniques for social integration 1/

Scale, adaptability, variety

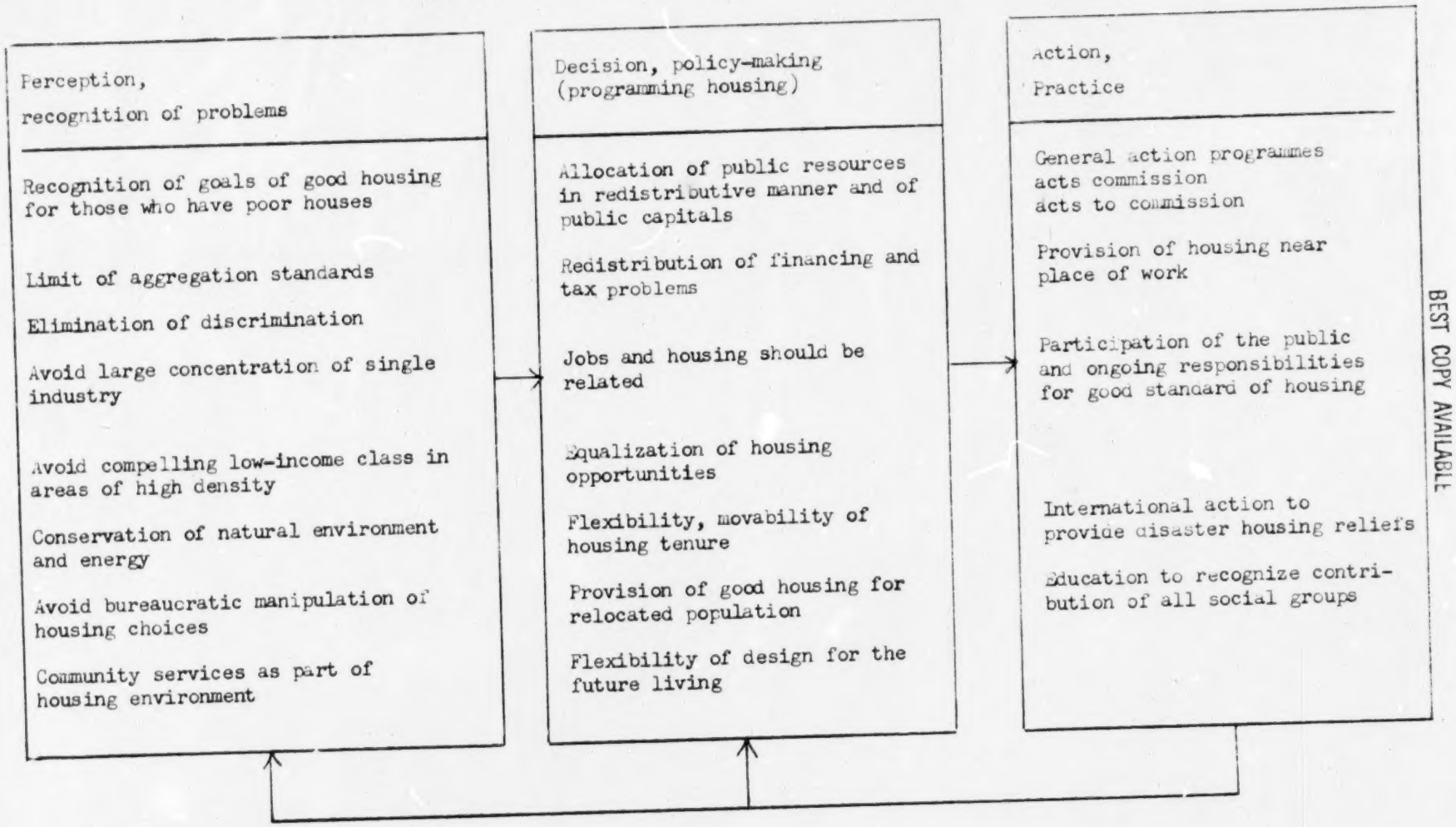
44. Large-scale, uniform housing developments built over a short period of time tend to attract only a narrow range of individuals within the housing market and thus to create new single-class, single-age or other types of segregated community. There is a need for the development of planning techniques which, within the constraints of costs, will produce varied, small-scale housing developments, within which self-selection may take place on a small scale, but without creating massive, self-contained housing units occupied by narrow class, racial or other groups.

45. Publicly supported housing developments should not concentrate low-income families in large projects; efforts should be made to extend the number of classes of the population residing within a single development.

46. Since during the course of its life a house or a community may undergo great change in use, the need for adaptation to future uses should as far as possible, be recognized in the initial designs so that the past does not too severely restrict the options of present and future users. Further, where possible, design should provide for open space which may be used for purposes defined by the users of such space rather than by the planners.

1/ The Expert Group discussed a decision-making model of planning techniques for social integration reproduced below.

DECISION-MAKING MODEL OF PLANNING FOR SOCIAL INTEGRATION


Perception,
recognition of problems
Recognition of goals of good housing for those who have poor houses
Limit of aggregation standards
Elimination of discrimination
Avoid large concentration of single industry
Avoid compelling low-income class in areas of high density
Conservation of natural environment and energy
Avoid bureaucratic manipulation of housing choices
Community services as part of housing environment
Decision, policy-making
(programming housing)
Allocation of public resources in redistributive manner and of public capitals
Redistribution of financing and tax problems
Jobs and housing should be related
Equalization of housing opportunities
Flexibility, movability of housing tenure
Provision of good housing for relocated population
Flexibility of design for the future living
Action,
Practice
General action programmes
acts commission
acts to commission
Provision of housing near place of work
Participation of the public and ongoing responsibilities for good standard of housing
International action to provide disaster housing reliefs
Education to recognize contribution of all social groups

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Integrated services

47. Swedish experience shows that significant social and economic advantages can be gained if the different societal services and facilities necessary to education, recreation, cultural activities, commerce and the like are integrated both spatially and administratively. Some consequences of this integration are better organization and intersectoral collaboration not only between the authorities and other public and semi-public bodies operating at different levels, but also between different citizens' participatory groups within the community.

48. The international agencies and enterprises concerned with development are urged to fund and promote the co-ordination of governmental, cultural and commercial services in one centre, as exemplified in the projects of Brickenbacken in Sweden and of Drouten in the Netherlands. 2/

Transportation and communication

49. Public support of the extreme separation of work and housing operates generally to the disadvantage of lower income families and of those to whom a long journey to work is a great burden. Urban development planning and policy should devise means for the reduction of the distance between jobs and residence. So, too, it is necessary for adequate transportation networks to be constructed. Rapid and low-cost mass transit facilities will increase the work and residence opportunities within a single region and will operate to reduce reliance on private automobiles.

D. International action

50. The Expert Group recognized that there was a world crisis of the human environment and that the impact of both urban and rural settlements on that environment took effect within a broader context of international instability; they also recognized the difficulty, in highly industrialized and less developed countries alike, of transforming human settlements into true communities.

51. The Expert Group noted that as the world's population doubled, to reach some 7 billion by the end of the century large new investments of national and international resources would be required to take account of population growth and family formation, rapid urbanization, and the replacement of the existing housing stock. It was therefore essential to promote genuine and widespread social and economic development and integration within and between countries. It was also evident that the rapid growth of population and urbanization in the years ahead must be channelled, planned and directed in order to prevent any waste of the planet's finite resources and to avoid overburdening the carrying capacity of the land, water and air in the areas of large human settlements.

52. The Expert Group also considered that, for the developing countries, a major challenge and opportunity regarding the role of housing in promoting social

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2/ The material summarized in chapter II, section J, of this report included a report on the Brickenbacken Service Centre, an integrated service facility complex.

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integration would be to use the potential of the tide of new migrants to the urban areas to build and improve the urban areas and to incorporate the initiatives of the immigrants into the total process of social, physical and capital investment for enhanced welfare and environmental harmony.

53. The Expert Group finally affirmed its view that the problems of the social environment were of particular relevance to international discussions and actions on the human environment, especially those related to the planning and management of human settlements for environmental quality. The Expert Group agreed that one of the most important and crucial issues for maintaining mankind's harmony with the earth's environment was the pattern of human settlements, including where and how people lived, worked, related to each other and governed their actions.

54. In consequence of the above, the Expert Group recommended that:

(a) There be a major restructuring and strengthening of the grossly inadequate institutional resources that have been made available to deal with the crisis of human settlements at both the national and the international levels:

(b) In connexion with the over-all global concern about arrangements for the human environment, and in view of the possible establishment of an environmental fund, environmental monitoring, earthwatch systems, and the like, a special new international division and programme, be established, under United Nations auspices, to deal with human settlements. They should deal, for instance, with questions of housing and shelter in cases of emergency or disaster and the improvement of squatter settlements. Comprehensive efforts should be accelerated to upgrade appropriate policies, technologies and techniques for planning and building.

55. The Expert Group also recommended that the international community, within the United Nations framework, establish and activate a network of regional, subregional and national training, research, and development centres to be concerned with the over-all problems of shelter, the housing environment and human settlements confronting the developing world. These centres, to be supported by both multilateral and bilateral sources, must devote particular attention to the whole range of conditions underlying the planning, construction and management of human settlements.

These centres should provide a special focus for evaluating the close interrelationships that exist between capital investment decisions and the creation and maintenance of suitable and adequate social environments.

Pilot centres of this type should be established as soon as possible, through further support, expansion and internationalization of the programmes currently being carried on by organizations in several countries, such as the Building Functions Analysis Institutes in Stockholm and Lund.

56. The United Nations should be requested to assist Member States in the creation and fulfilment of research programmes geared to identifying and providing solutions to problems of segregation. The United Nations should also be requested to co-ordinate such efforts and to disseminate research information and solutions that may emerge from such programmes.

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57. The United Nations should further be asked to arrange for or solicit support from bilateral and multilateral assistance sources to make it possible to carry out pilot and demonstration projects based on full integration, and to compile information to be fed back into such projects.

58. Finally, the United Nations should be asked to assist in organizing training facilities in various regions, or to arrange with bilateral donors for the organization of such facilities, where countries that are unable to establish their own training programmes in housing management can send their personnel; the success of integration in housing will depend a great deal on well trained housing managers.

59. The international agencies and enterprises concerned with development whether in the form of bilateral or multilateral aid or in the form of privately financed development activities, should be urged:

(a) to fund and promote research into current housing and planning as well as into new planning projects, with provision for evaluation and feed-back of information;

(b) to provide for the participation of multidisciplinary teams, especially including members of the relevant human sciences (sociology, anthropology and human biology, demography and genetics), at the appropriate stages of the planning, execution and evaluation processes.

60. The construction of good housing and related community services requires the expertise of many disciplines. It is of great importance that international agencies concerned with housing make provision for the training of professionals prepared to work on an interdisciplinary basis. Such education should take into account the need for a broad professional knowledge of the social, political, economic and environmental characteristics of housing developments. The absence of such training has often led to narrow views of housing needs and to a resultant misunderstanding of the needs of special groups within the population. The Expert Group therefore recommends that members of different specialized disciplines, including architecture, anthropology, planning, pedagogy, and education, be further trained in the theory and practice of comprehensive planning for the development of housing and human settlements.

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ANNEXES

Annex I

AGENDA

1. Opening address

2. Adoption of the agenda

3. Presentation of case studies

4. Main guidelines for discussion

   (a) What are the origins and basic causes of segregation?

   (b) What are the effects of segregation and integration?

   (c) Strategies and techniques for social integration through housing

5. Summary and conclusions and recommendations

6. Public meeting and panel discussion

LIST OF EXPERTS

Luan P. Cuffe, Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland

Paul Davidoff, Suburban Action Institute, White Plains, New York, United States of America

Wladyslaw Dominiak, Housing Institute, Warsaw, Poland

Gino Germani, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, Calif., United States of America

Toshio Iritani, Tokyo, Japan

Anthony Lubega, Ministry of Works, Communication and Housing, Netebbe, Uganda

Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History, New York, New York, United States of America

Ingegerd Agren, Regional Planning Office of Stor-Göteborg, Göteborg, Sweden

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Annex II

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

ESA/HBP/AC.3/01	"Segregation and social integration of housing in Japan: case study of an urban slum area in Tokyo", by Toshio Iritani
ESA/HBP/AC.3/02	"Cultural factors in the housing patterns of the United States", by Margaret Mead
ESA/HBP/AC.3/03	"Fostering opportunity for racial and class integration through housing development policy", by Paul and Linda Davidoff
ESA/HBP/AC.3/04	"The role of a dwelling in the development of social integration", by Wladyslaw Dominiak
ESA/HBP/AC.3/05	"Housing as a factor in social integration: the traveller in Ireland", by Luan P. Cuffe and George J. Gmelch
ESA/HBP/AC.3/06	"The Göteborg region - a case study in regional inequalities", by Ingegerd Agren
ESA/HBP/AC.3/07	"The social aspects in self-help housing programmes", by Lola Rocha Sanchez (to be presented by Gino Germani)
ESA/HBP/AC.3/09	"Residential pattern with respect to segregation and integration of different human groups of Greater Kampala (Uganda)", by Anthony Lubega
ESA/HBP/AC.3/10	"The international concern for using housing as an element of social integration", note presented by the United Nations Secretariat
ESA/HBP/AC.3/11	"Social integration and segregation with particular reference to physical planning", Part I by S. K. Misra and Sven Thiberg, Part II by Tomas Lindencrona